except for farmers in Matsumae, the trade shall be reserved to members of the Matsumae clan alone.

3. Guardhouses shall be erected at Akkeshi in east Ezo and Sōya in west Ezo where such officials as managers, swordsmen, and foot soldiers will be stationed. These people will regulate and control the Ezo. Since the climate gets very cold in the winter and the sea freezes, making it very difficult to spend the season there, the Ezo shall be provided with sufficient supplies and the mainland traders will all return to the mainland. Beginning with this spring, officials shall be sent to investigate conditions along the frontier and those necessary steps recommended in their reports shall be taken.

4. Besides the guardhouses in east and west Ezo others will be located in convenient places. Furthermore, instructions (that the regulations be observed) will be sent to areas managed by retainers of the clan.

5. In preparation for possible foreign invasion fortifications shall be emphasized and in cases of emergency reports will be made by signal fires prepared in advance. Furthermore, clan officials shall be sent into Ezo and adjacent islands and to the frontier line and all necessary measures will be taken. April.

Matsumae Shima no kami

A summary of this would be as follows:

1. Trade in the remote areas of east and west Ezo to be brought under direct control of the Matsumae, thus eliminating the evils of the contract system.

2. Traders in Ezo, that is, the managers, guards, and interpreters, were limited to those who lived in Matsumae territory, thus preventing evil characters from outside from coming in contact with the natives.

3. Guardhouses were set up at Akkeshi and Sōya (later at Ishikari) with managers and clan retainers stationed at them to look after the Ezo. The Ezo were supplied over the winter and the mainlanders were sent home, thus eliminating tyranny by the traders. Furthermore, officials were sent to the frontier to investigate conditions and guide the Ezo.[79]

The net result of all this was the following two policies:

1. The clan recognized the evils of the contract system and saw that it was the root of revolt. It therefore sought to correct the system and where supervision proved difficult the system was abolished.

2. Up to this time Ezo-land had been left to native self-government. From this time on the Matsumae tried to rule the Ezo through clan officials sent into their territory.

In regard to policy number one, little change resulted. This was because the financial condition of the Matsumae really permitted of no change and the merchants were permitted, under a nominal "control" to manage pretty much as they had under the old contract system. However, the establishment of guardhouses and the stationing at them of officials to regulate Ezo life actually was carried out. These guard posts were originally established at Akkeshi and Sōya with the intention of building more at other places later on. However, according to the *Mizou Ki* [Record of Unique Matters]

[79] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 358–360.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

written in 1798, official guards were stationed in each *Basho* in east Ezo from Washiki to Mitsuishi. According to their written instructions the duties of these guards were:

1. The rescue of wrecked and drifting ships and the regulation of foreign vessels.
2. To have jurisdiction over those Ezo who violated regulations.
3. To caution the managers and watchmen against unfair treatment of the Ezo and to see that "*Kaihō*" was not neglected.
4. To attempt to increase the production of "light goods." [80]

In general, it seems that they had much the same duties as the *Uwanoriyaku*. The regulations that the Ezo were supposed to observe can be seen in an example taken from the Akkeshi district.[81]

Regulations for the Ezo. Whether it be a vessel with the mark of the sun or a vessel of some other country if it is drifting or has drifted ashore friendly aid should be given and the incident reported to the *Uwanoriyaku*.

The Ezo are also advised to live in peace with one another and to work hard to increase the output of goods. This has been conveyed to the Ezo at the time of *Omusha*.

This was the entire scope of regulation for "there is no regulation providing penalty when an Ezo kills his fellow or when he steals the property of another. Since there are no such instructions from the Matsumae or the guards there are no rules upon which to act." Thus crime among the Ezo was left for the Ezo themselves to settle. The Ezo leaders were encouraged to pay visits to the clan lord and in a letter dated June

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[80] "Written Instructions for the Guards in Ezo." (Matsumae Fukuyama Shōokite) (1) Vessels flying flags with the mark of the sun as well as any other vessel found drifting should be towed into safety with the help of the Ezo. In case of a wreck all goods aboard, including ship's equipment should be carefully salvaged and handed over to the captain of the ship. The captain's name and place of birth should be reported to the castle. If the vessel is a foreign one, exercise extreme care and confiscate such goods as are contraband while, at the same time, dispatch a messenger with full details to the castle. In the event of emergency report immediately by prearranged signal fire. (2) Since an Ezo revolt occurred only last year the Ezo should be watched with extra care. Watchmen and traders in each *Basho* are to be cautioned against unreasonable conduct and also against lying. Separate notice is given in regard to *Kaihō* areas under the direct management of the Matsumae but managers, interpreters, and watchmen are to be particularly instructed not to neglect *Kaihō*. Any report of Ezo violation of the law is to be investigated immediately and the case taken under control. (3) Light goods are to be prepared for trade as usual but the Ezo are to be encouraged to increase their output. Furthermore, when an Ezo from another part of the island brings light goods with him, they should be handled by the manager and not sold to the other Ezo. Ezo leaders are to be informed of this. (4) Transactions by guards are to wait until the trade ships have loaded all their freight without mistake and have set sail. These instructions are to be followed scrupulously. Should a problem arise too difficult to settle, then instructions should be sent for.

[81] *Kimura Shikyō Hikki*.

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to custom." The only thing that had to be done was to win the favor of the chiefs. Even the trading posts were merely convenient locations for a vessel to land and for business to be conducted and when the trade was completed the Japanese left and there was no form of political intervention. But as contacts multiplied and, as the Ezo became more an exploited people, the periods of contact lengthened and it became necessary to apply force to, and lay down obligations for, the Ezo and, as a result, possibilities for trouble arose. It then followed that there was a need for political regulation and an administrative organization came to be set up. The *Uwanoriyaku* whose duty it had been to go to Ezo during the trading season became agents stationed in Ezo-land to govern the people. However, this system was still in embryo and its full development will be seen in the following period.

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